

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-03

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /004 R

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DRAFTED BY:NEA/PAB:ASCHIFFERDECKER

APPROVED BY:NEA/PAB:PDCONSTABLE

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R 202023Z AUG 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM KABUL 20 AUG 73

REPEATED TO YOU

QTE CONFIDENTIAL KABUL 6176

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK, IR

SUBJ: AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

REF: STATE 164400

1. I HAD INTENDED RAISE ALL QUESTIONS CONTAINED REFTEL WITH  
PRESIDENT DURING FAREWELL AUDIENCE BUT ON A PURELY PERSONAL  
BASIS. INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED REFTEL RAISED PRESENTATION TO  
OFFICIAL LEVEL AND IMPLICATIONS PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5, HOWEVER SOFTLY  
STATED, ESTABLISHED TIE BETWEEN OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OBJECTIVES  
WHICH HOWEVER ACCURATE, IS SOMETHING TO WHICH AFGHANS IN GENERAL  
AND DAUD IN PARTICULAR ARE KNOWN TO REACT UNFAVORABLY. THIS  
DESPITE FACT THAT THEY THEMSELVES EMPHASIZE OR IMPLY THAT TIE  
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IN THEIR PRESENTATION OF NEED FOR US ASSISTANCE.

2. I THEREFORE DECIDED TO TRY THE PACKAGE FIRST ON DAUD'S BROTHER NAIM WHO, ALTHOUGH IN OBVIOUS OVERALL CHARGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MEETING WAS AGAIN AT FONMIN TO EMPHASIZE POINT), OCCUPIES NO OFFICIAL POSITION AND OUR CONVERSATION WAS OFFICIALLY LABELED AS "PRIVATE".

3. NAIM SEEMED AGAIN IN EXCELLENT FORM, LIKE ON FIRST POST-COUP MEETING (KABUL 5325), AND NOT LIKE SECOND (KABUL 6019). I EXPLAINED THAT I HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO SEEK EARLY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BUT THAT I THOUGHT BEST TO GO OVER GROUND INFORMALLY WITH NAIM. I THEN FOLLOWED SUBSTANCE REFTEL WITH EXCEPTION PARA 2.

4. ON PUSHTUNISTAN, NAIM SAID THAT GOA SOUGHT PEACEFUL SOLUTION. PAKISTAN WELL AWARE OF AFGHANISTAN'S POSITION BUT HAS NOT TAKEN ACTION GOA REQUESTED. WHAT AFGHANISTAN WANTS IS FOR PAKISTAN APPLY THE CONSTITUTION WHICH PROVIDES FOR MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN. BHUTTO VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTION BY ARRESTING NAP LEADERS. THIS OPENS PERSPECTIVES OF REPETITION OF TREATMENT OF MUJIBUR RAHMAN IN BANGLA DESH IN WHICH BHUTTO HAD IMPORTANT HAND. IF PAKISTAN INTERNAL WEAKNESS LEAD TO SUCH ACTION IT IS NOT AFGHANISTAN'S FAULT. HOWEVER, IF OPEN FORCE BREAKS OUT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR AFGHANISTAN TO REMAIN APART. ONLY WAY OUT IS FOR PAKISTAN APPLY THE CONSTITUTION.

5. I REMARKED THAT AFGHANISTAN'S VIEWPOINT WELL KNOWN BUT THAT BIZENJO'S SPEECH PRETTY INFLAMMATORY AND POSSIBLY SECESSIONIST. NAIM REPLIED THAT BIZENJO AND OTHER LEADERS NOT CRIMINALS BUT DRIVEN BY BHUTTO INTO TOUGH POSITION. NAIM HOPED FOR PAK WISDOM NOT TO LET SITUATION GET OUT OF HAND.

6. I ASKED (FULLY KNOWING NO CLEAR ANSWERS WOULD BE GIVEN) JUST WHAT GOA MIGHT DO IF SITUATION "GOT OUT OF HAND". NAIM REPLIED NOBODY COULD SAY EXCEPT THAT AFGHANISTAN COULD NOT STAY OUT IF FORCE COMMITTED. EVERYBODY MIGHT LOSE CONTROL. I ASKED WHAT "SELF-DETERMINATION" MEANT AS USED BY PRESIDENT. SELF-DETERMINATION WITHIN PAKISTAN OR SELF-DETERMINATION WITH OPTION OF SECESSION? NAIM REPLIED THIS FOR GOP THEMSELVES TO DETERMINE. BHUTTO SHOULD APPLY HIS CONSTITUTION. IF PEOPLE DRIVEN TO CONVICTION THEY CANNOT REMAIN INSIDE PAKISTAN, ANYTHING POSSIBLE.

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PASHTUNISTAN WAS AN ISSUE . WE (US) HAD TO RECOGNIZE IT. (FYI: THIS LANGUAGE SIMILAR TO THAT OF KING AND FORMER PM'S AT COMPARABLE OCCASIONS. END FYI).

7. ON IRAN-HELMAND RIVER TREATY, GOA RECOGNIZES USG INTEREST EXPRESSE D IN ORGANIZING COMMISSION, ETC., AND IS GRATEFUL. AFGHANISTAN HAD ALWA YS

ACCEPTED THE AWARD. IRAN DID NOT. THIS HAD BEEN SO FOR 20 YEARS.  
UNFORTUNATELY LAST (SHAFIQ) GOVERNMENT PUSHED ISSUED IN MANNER CREATI  
NG  
SO MANY PROBLEMS THAT NOW IT IS "QUITE A JOB FOR US". ETEMADI,  
AS PM, STARTED DISCUSSIONS OF SELLING EXCESS WATER TO IRAN. THIS  
WOULD CREATE RESIDUAL RIGHTS FOR IRAN ESPECIALLY IF RANIANS WERE  
TO BUILD INSTALLATIONS, FARMS, ETC., RELYING ON EXCESS WATER. I  
REPLIED THAT FLOOD WATERS NOW FLOWING TO IRAN ANYWAY WITHOUT  
BENEFIT TO AFGHANISTAN, WHY NOT GET PAID FOR WHAT ACTUALLY  
HAPPENING? NOTHING COULD PREVENT IRANIANS FROM BUILDING  
FARMS, ETC., ON BASIS FLOOD WATERS NOW. NAIM REPLIED DIFFERENCE  
THAT SALES CONTRACT WOULD GIVE IMPLICIT RIGHTS WHILE ACTUAL FLOW  
WOULD NOT. THEREFORE AFGHANISTAN CANNOT SELL WATER TO IRAN.  
EVEN CORRUPT PARLIAMENTARIANS OVERTHREW ETEMADI ON THAT ISSUE.  
WATER SALES PROBLEM HAS HAMPERED GOA IN DEALING WITH ISSUE  
BECAUSE OF STRONG FEELINGS AROUSED. HOWEVER, HE STILL FEELS  
MAIN WATER TREATY OK. ADDITIONAL 4 CU SECS GRANTED BY FORMER KING  
REGRETTABLE BUT WAS DONE NOW. ANYWAY RELATIONS WITH IRAN WERE  
GOOD AND HE IS CONFIDENT THIS COULD BE WORKED OUT. BUT MUST GIVE  
PRESIDENT TIME TO STUDY -- AT LEAST ONE MONTH. MANY MISCONCEPTIONS  
ON TREATY EXIST IN PUBLIC BECAUSE OF SHAFIQ'S MISHANDLING. NAIM  
REPEATED HIS PERSONAL CONVICTION NO REAL PROBLEM. RELATIONS  
WITH IRAN GOOD AND HOPE FOR IRAN'S INFLUENCE ON PAKISTAN. NO  
COMPARISON BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND WITH  
PAKISTAN.

8. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION IT BECAME CLEAR THAT MEANING OF  
PARALRAPH 4 AND 5 REFTEL NO REPEAT NOT LOST ON NAIM. HE GAVE ME  
TO UNDERSTAND PRIVATELY THAT PRESIDENT WOULD NOT REACT WELL TO  
OFFICIAL RAISING OF POSSIBLE TIE BETWEEN US ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES  
AND AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR. DAUD KNOWN  
TO BE PARTICULARLY SENSTIVE ON ISSUE AS SEVERAL FORMER US  
AMBASSADORS HAVE DISCOVERED.

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9. I THEREFORE BELIEVE SEEKING FORMAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT  
AND CONVEYING FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. THE  
POINT HAS BEEN FULLY MADE AND WILL BE REPEATED TO DAUD. ITS  
IMPLICATIONS WILL, I THINK, BE CLEAR. IF AFGHANISTAN CONTINUES  
HARD LINE THERE WILL BE PLENTY OF TIME TO RAISE ISSUE TO OFFICIAL  
LEVEL. AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, I REQUEST THAT INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL  
BE AMENDED AND THAT I NOT REPT NOT SEEK FORMAL APPOINTMENT  
AT THIS TIME. I STILL INTEND RAISE ISSUE ON PERSONAL PLANE  
IN FAREWELL AUDIENCE. NEUMANN UNQTE ROGERS

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